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Poli. Pamphlet No 1.

LETTER

TO A

Minister of State,

Concerning the Pretended

PRINCE of WALES's

Being Proclaim'd

KING of *England, &c.* in *France.*

With some Thoughts on the Interest of
England in this Critical Juncture.

And of the Necessity of a Speedy and Vigorous
War, in order to preserve the Liberties of Eu-
rope, and to restrain the Exorbitant Power of
France. Showing ye People to be ye original of ys Government
in commendation of this King p agt ye managers of y^e last war.

LONDON;

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6 Octob:

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A LETTER, &c.

Right Honourable;

I Thought none more proper than your self to receive the Address of the following Discourse, your Honour being bound to this present Government by the potent Ties of Affection and Interest: And I hope your Honour will overlook the Irregularities either of the Address or Discourse, as proceeding from one that has serv'd this Government without Advantage, and has a Kindness for this King only because he is better than the former; those that cry up Governments and Kings only because they thrive by their Influence, are little to be heeded; but we ought to believe disinterested Persons are impartial in their Reflections, because they have no Temptation to bias their Opinions.

The Death of the late King James one might have thought, would have signified as little as his Life for some time had done to the Affairs of Europe. But as he was the Tool of the Popish Priests whilst he sat on the English Throne, so since he was deposed has he been the Tool of the French King, by whose Interest he has not a little embarrass'd the Affairs of England, and consequently of Europe: By this means he keeps a Party in this Kingdom for the Interest of King James, which

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Party were all along as great Bigots as their Master, and could never discern the *French* King's Interest in entertaining a fugitive Prince, who quitted his Kingdoms thro the Impulse of an evil Conscience, as not daring to venture his Person amongst a People he had so horribly abus'd, and endeavour'd to enslave. What could the *French* King's Aim be in entertaining the late King, but thereby to keep *England* from doing himself the more Mischief? For by dividing their Interest at home, he kept them from being unanimous in the common Cause; and tho King *James* had *de facto* lost his Kingdoms, they said he was still King *de jure*, and that his Title to his Kingdoms was as good as before his People had dethron'd him.

Hereupon the *French* King promis'd the English Jacobites upon his Royal Word, that he would never sheath his-Sword till he had restor'd his Royal Fugitive to the Throne of his Fathers; and these poor silly Creatures had no more sense than to believe him, whose Word was no more sacred than a carted Whore's. Now arose a Defection in the Church; Arch-bishop *Sancroft* and his Party turn'd Non-jurors to the present Government, kept seditious Conventicles, and made new Prayeh-Books for King *James* and little Master the Prince of *Wales*; as they bad preach'd him out, so they endeavour'd to pray him in; at least if they could not gain their Point in restoring *James*, they were resolv'd to embarrass the Affairs of *William*.

By this Defection of the Church we rationally concluded, that they had no design to make the Prince of *Orange* King of *England*; their Intent was only to get his Assistance in bringing his Father a little to rights in restoring Magdalen-College, and other Franchises of the Church, which at that time he had impiously taken away; but their measures were quite broken upon the Desertion of their King, who being absent from his Dominions and yet alive, they could not

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in Conscience swear to another Prince while the former to whom they had been before sworn was living; hence arose Scruples of Conscience, wild Distinctions, and seditious Endeavours to overturn the present Government.

These Godly Creatures, whose Consciences were so nice and squeamish as not to allow them to swear to a Government, the most likely of any we have yet known to secure us in our Native Rights, were at the same time so monstrously lewd as to endeavour the Destruction of this present Government by the Murder of King *William*, in whom the good People of *England* had vested the Executive Power of our Laws.

Certainly had those People who call themselves Jacobites been Men of Honour and Virtue, this very Action of the Heads of their Party would have created in them a future abhorrence of Men of such Villainous Principles, who could perpetrate such bloody Designs; for if we consider the End of the Design, it was no less than this, to introduce Arbitrary Power, to subdue their own Rights and Privileges, and make *England* a Tributary Province to *France*.

But to consider the Person against whom this Design was levell'd, the Action appears the more monstrous and dishonourable; it was against a Prince who had the justest Title to his Throne, as coming to it by the universal Consent and general Concurrence of a willing People, whose Crown was no more than the just Gift of those that were deliver'd by him from Popery and Slavery: and yet more dishonourable was this Action, if we consider he is such a Prince as never sculk'd in a Corner, but always bravely appeared in the head of his Troops expos'd to the greatest Dangers, where they might have had an opportunity of doing that in fair Battel, which they design'd to act in ignoble Assassination.

In this Condition lay our distracted State during the War, we had Foreign and Intestine Enemies, and those very potent too in their Designs against our Country: Our only hopes and security was in the Populace, who were entirely in the Interest of the Country, tho' the contending Parties for Dominion desired nothing more than Slavery; such a strange fatality of Principles hung over our Country, that both *Williamites* and *Jacobites* endeavoured to set up Arbitrary Power, the one by advancing the Nations of *Conquest*, and the other by reducing *England* to the See of *Rome*; so that either Protestant or Popish Slavery, altogether undistinguishable in themselves, were likely to be our Lot.

Another thing which ought to have convinced our *Jacobites* of the Treachery of the *French King*, was the Treaty of *Reswick*; in which Treaty he sheath'd his Sword before he had restor'd his Brother *James* to his Throne, according to his Promise; and by this Treaty he was oblig'd not to aid or assist the Enemies of this present King: So that the *Jacobites*, were they not stupid to their own Destruction, would never more have depended upon the *French King* as a Friend to their Cause.

But so stubborn, so untractable a thing is the Mind of Man, that the native Pride of the vanishing Animal will not suffer him to change his Opinion; this is the Effect of mere Pride, the genuine Offspring of the Devil: To submit to Reason is the noblest Action of a Rational Creature, it is not beneath the Nature of Man, but an Ornament to it: But this Condescension in a *Jacobite* is like Repentance in the Devil, mere Non-entities and absolute Impossibilities.

When they had found the vain Attempts of restoring King *James* to be impracticable, after so many years Endeavours to accomplish it, after they had received such good Assurances of the Treachery of the *French King*, one would

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have thought they should not have repeated their idle Attempts to enslave this Nation by a French Force; but Men of mean Capacities when frustrated in their Designs grow the more desperate, their Zeal for their Cause heightens into Fury, and thence arises to downright Madness.

King James at length is numbered with the dead, and has paid the common Debt due to Nature: If he be numbered amongst the Blest (for we will not circumscribe Infinite Goodness and Mercy) we may truly say of him, *Sero in Cælum ascendebat*. If God had thought fit he had never been born, or it had seem'd good to his Wisdom to have taken him to himself before his Designs against our Country had come to maturity, happy had it been for England. But since he is dead, let us tread softly on his Ashes, yet at the same time not forget to take notice of the Endeavours of his surviving Friends to make his Cause live after his Death, by trumping up the Title of the pretended Prince of Wales.

If we can give Credit to all our Accounts from France, that pretended Prince has been there proclaimed as King of England, Scotland and Ireland, and our Jacobites here begin to drink his Health with the same Gusto as they formerly did his Father's; so that we have got a new Prince in the head of an old Cause, and an old Party renewing their Strength, and acquiring a new Life by the hopes of his Succession to the Crown of England.

This, Sir, is the Subject of my present Discourse; and to demonstrate how impracticable this thing will be, and to set things in a clear light, suffer me to consider how we came by this present Government, and whether such a Prince as the pretended Welchman is can be a Superstructure suitable to the Basis and Foundation of this Government.

Those States and Kingdoms subsist longest which keep the Foundation of their Government intire: Governments founded upon solid Principles of Policy are not impair'd but

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most improv'd by Age; the older such Governments grow,
the more unshaken are they; and Convulsions in Govern-
ments are like Fevers in the Body Natural, which if they do
not destroy, yet they much weaken the Compositum.*

Now the Foundation of this Government is such as has been immemorially the Rights of *English* men. King *James* became a Delinquent, broke his Original Contract with his People, whereby he forfeited his Right to the Crown of *England*, and devested himself of all Regalities of State; the People took hold of the Forfeiture, and the Royal Dignity fell naturally into the hands of the People, who had an original Right thereunto, where it remain'd until such time as they lodg'd the Executive Power of the Law, which is the Regal Dignity of *England*, in the hands of him whom they thought most fit to execute so great a Trust.

And this being the free Gift of the good People of *England*, the Trust must remain where it is till the Trustee shall break his Original Contract with the People, from whom he receiv'd this Trust; and until that time the People cannot be legally discharged from their Obedience, nor the King from his Power of governing: This is the reciprocal Act and Deed of both Parties, and the Covenants are not yet broken on either side, and I hope never will be, and therefore the Government remains intire as it was at its first Foundation, and so has no need of a Successor.

Nor would I be thought here to mean that this Government is a new thing, it having been the undoubted Right and Possession of our Forefathers time out of mind; and this Power is such a Right that no Force on Earth can legally deprive us of; nay such a Right that we our selves cannot part with, it descending to our Posterity by a natural Entail.

Now the Foundation of the *Jacobite* Cause depending merely upon the Right of Succession, I should say something to that Point, were not so much already spoken to that purpose

pose in *Algernon Sidney* and other eminent Authors, which might convince any but such as have bid defiance to their own Reason, and the true Interest of their Country.

Nor need this Head be consider'd in this Discourse, the Estates of the Kingdom having rescinded the Succession, and yet in their Acts of Settlement have paid so great a Respect to the Heirs of the Kings of *England*, as to place the Crown on the Heads of the next in the Protestant Line: Not that the Constitution of our Government oblig'd them to any Act of this nature; but the Heirs of Princes being educated in Courts, and acquainted with the Methods of Governing, they were willing hereby to oblige them to the Practice of Virtue, and to acquiring Royal Endowments, that as a Reward of their Princely Virtues they might come to the Administration of the Executive Power.

But if we were tied to a Succession of apparent and presumptive Heirs, and were oblig'd to take their Virtues upon trust, without ever trying how the Crown would fit their Heads, this would be buying a King in a Poke without Examination, and our hasty Choice may procure a Repentance which may be too late; but to put the Crown on the Head of one that is a known Enemy to our Constitution, our Religion, Laws and Liberties, is downright Madness.

It matters us not whether the Prince of *Wales* be legitimate or no, whether the legal Issue of the late K. *James* or not; the Succession is legally settled on others, and the Name of that Prince is not so much as mentioned in any of our Acts of Settlement; so that he has no more relation to the People of *England*, than the Son of the Grand Signior, or *Prestre John*.

The pretended Prince of *Wales* can never come to the Government of *England* but by the apparent breach of our Laws, and by the breach of the Oaths of most of the good People of *England* who have sign'd the Association: He can never have any Power here but in prejudice of the People of our

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our Realm, who have a Right to elect their own Governors, as best knowing what Kings are most likely to suit the Genius of the Natives, and to preserve their Constitution intire.

There is no way to bring the Prince of *Wales* to the Crown of *England* but by a Foreign Power, which is very impracticable in *England*; our Country is too near situated to *France*, our People are too well acquainted with the Slavery of the *French* Vassals to admit of that Government; they'll lose their Feet before they'll wear Wooden Shoes, and their Heads before they would stoop to a Tyrant.

I would not have any one to think it an extravagant Surmise in me, to say that the *French* King will govern here if ever the pretended Prince of *Wales* should be brought hither; his vain Ambition of enlarging his Conquests is well known, his greedy desire of Empire is attended with Murders, Rape and Poison, and any Barbarity whereby he may accomplish his Ends; he is resolv'd to be a Universal Monarch, cost him what it will; he has pawn'd his Honour, his Conscience, and all that is dear to Mankind upon that score already, and without doubt will part with his very Soul to accomplish his Ends.

It is not many years ago that he was at vast Expeince in getting his Prince of *Conti* chosen King of *Poland*, thereby to get himself a Kingdom in the North in order to destroy the Northern Heresy; and indeed had it been so, the Affairs of the North could not have been in a worse condition than now it is, under the Administration of that Bear which at present holds the Scepter of *Poland* in his unsanctified Paw.

Failing in the North, he casts his greedy Eye to the Southward, and *Spain* must by some means or other be brought under his Jurisdiction; to accomplish which he wheedl'd some Powers into a Treaty, whereby he got such a Part to himself, as would enable him to get the Whole whenever he pleased. The Grandees of *Spain* finding their Kingdoms divided,

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divided, and that the French King having so great a part of their Country given him by Treaty, he would get the rest by Conquest, their Heads being already in the Devil's Mouth, they knew their whole Body must follow; and from these Reasons had the fictitious Will of the King of Spain its being, by which the Kingdom of Spain, and all the Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, were given to the Duke D'Anjou, Grandson to the French King.

Can any one at this time say, that the many Kingdoms belonging to the Crown of Spain are otherwise than Provinces depending on the French King, since their Affairs of State are under the Conduct of French Councils, and their Government defended and supported by French Troops? And can any rational Man believe any otherwise of England, if ever the French King should by his own Force set the pretended Prince of Wales on the English Throne?

The Jacobites in England have always had some small hopes or other to keep up their Spirits, and I am afraid have met with some Encouragement from Men in Power, who ought to have done his Majesty and the Nation better Service; for the growth of this Faction seems not to have subsisted all this while upon its own intrinsick Merit, but to have been cherished and supported by unseen Cordials, delivered by unknown Hands.

You must pardon me, Sir, if I draw some rational Conclusions, from evident and visible Premises, how this Cause has been fostered and nurs'd up in our Land. It cannot be imagin'd that a Cause so abject and monstrous in its own nature, could flourish without some Emanations of Bounty from generous Patrons, or ever seem terrible by the support of Men of desperate Fortunes.

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One grand Reason of the growth of this Faction, was the preferring of that Party into Offices of Profit and Trust; where by their Posts under this Government they were the better enabled to serve their old Master, and relieve the Necessities of their Friends out of Office. The old Maxims of preferring Enemies and disobliging Friends, might serve a Turn, and carry on Designs proper for some Governments built upon other Foundations than that of this Settlement; but that Coat of Ingratitude will by no means suit the Limbs and Constitution of this Government.

For King William came to the Crown over a Bridg built upon the Ruins of the best Men in England; those who came latest into the Assistance of their Country, were compell'd to it thro the necessity of their own Dangers; tho they join'd upon the Revolution, they had been Enemies to such as appear'd first in the Defence of their Native Rights; and such Men are little to be heeded who forsook King James for no other reason but that he first forsook them, and chop'd in so cleverly with this Government only to reap the advantage of its Administration.

Besides, those who first oppos'd the onsets of Popery and Tyranny did the truest Service to their Country; had they not done so, and thereby embarrass'd the Affairs of King James, there had been no room left for the Revolution, which would have been altogether impracticable after King James's Designs had taken root.

In point of Gratitude these Men ought to have been rewarded by a Government to whose Establishment they had so largely contributed; and it was but common Justice that these Men should reap the Fruits of their Labour, and taste the Grapes which their own Hands had planted, and not suffer them to be devoured by the wild Beasts of the Forest, and the Bastard Sons of our Country.

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In point of Policy these Men ought to be prefer'd; such as had ventur'd Stock and Block in the Defence of the Peoples Rights were most likely to defend and support the Peoples King chosen by their mutual Consent: The others were the Tools of Arbitrary Power, whose Edges were sharpened upon the Whetstones of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, and consequently were fitter to cut this Government down than to hew Props to support and keep it up; if the Superstructure be not proportionable to the Foundation, it naturally tumbles down.

The Reasons I have given you, Sir, of the growth of the Jacobite Cause, is here a pardonable Digression; a good Physician first discovers the Origin and Foundation of the Disease, and then applies proper Medicines for a Cure. You that are Ministers of State are his Majesty's Political Physicians, and if you do not apply proper Remedies to the Body Politick you murder our Constitution, and are responsible to the People, who are the nearest Relations to the Commonwealth, and ought in this case to bring their Appeal. If you do not acquaint the King, that Men of vicious Principles, and such as betray'd our Liberties in former Reigns, are not fit to be employ'd in the Ministry of this Government, you suffer the Government to grow lousy, until by the Excoriations and continual bitings of these Vermin, the Government looks with a languid, unhealthy and ghastly Aspect.

But should such a thing happen, that a Ministry should be establish'd on purpose to bring the Prince of *Wales* to the Crown of *England*, and should the whole Executive Power of this Land concur with it, I shall prove by Arguments founded upon solid Reason, that the Attempt is vain, impracticable, and never to be effected.

For Kings are made for the common good of the People, and when they cease to do the People good, they are no longer Kings ; an injurious Act done to the People of the Realm, is not the Act of a King, but of a Tyrant : Therefore is that Maxim, *The King can do no Wrong*, which is no more than this, it is not the King, but the Tyrant does the Wrong ; for the Name and Office of the King is lost in doing of Evil. Now, if the Kings of *England* are made only for the common good of the People of the whole Realm, the Prince of *Wales* can never be King of *England*, because his being so can be no Good and Advantage to the Commonwealth.

That his being King will be a Prejudice to the Commonwealth is very apparent : His very Title destroys the Foundation of our Government ; if he comes to the Crown, it must be by Right of Succession, which is no Right at all to the Government of *England*, which is a Kingly Elective Government ; he cannot arrive at the Throne but by defeating two several Acts of Parliament, wherein the People of *England* in their own Right have elected other Regents, and placed the Crown upon other Heads after the Death of his present Majesty.

He cannot come to the Throne but by the hostile Invasion of a *French* Power ; and to support his Title of Succession he must gain another Title of Conquest, as detestable and injurious to the Commonwealth as the other : and pray who can say, that a King who wades to his Throne thro Rivers of the Natives Blood, that gets the Scepter by Theft and Rapine, can ever prove an Advantage to this Realm ?

The Quarrel upon which King *James* was dethroned, was a National Contest, he had abus'd the People of the whole Realm, and in the Name of all the Commons of *England* was

was he deposed : Nay the Injury he had done the *English* Nation was of so high a nature, that he nor his Posterity can ever make the People of *England* Satisfaction for it : a Statute of Bankrupt does not make Satisfaction to the Creditors of an abdicated Trader ; if his Effects will not answer his Debts, he remains still insolvent and liable to the Actions of all his Creditors, unless the Creditors be so merciful as to compound the Debts and make him a Freeman ; but such Compositions are only made where the Creditors are well satisfied that the Debtor is no Spendthrift, and is become insolvent by cross Providences, and not by his own Extravagancy.

But the Debt of the late King *James* is so great that it cannot be compounded ; his Bankruptcy of Justice is of such a nature that no Satisfaction can be made to the People of *England*, who are his Creditors : What Satisfaction can he or his Heirs give to the Nation for his illegal ravishing of Charters out of the hands of the Proprietors ? What Satisfaction can they give for exacting Money upon the Customs and Excise contrary to Law ? What Reparation can he make to the surviving Friends of those worthy Patriots whom he barbarously murdered ? But farther, how will they be able to pay 70 or 80 Millions expended in taking out a Statute of Bankrupt against him, and keeping 50 or 60 thousand Commissioners for many years together in *Ireland* and *Flanders* to execute the same ?

No, the Breach betwixt *James* and his Heirs, and the People of *England*, is too great ever to be made up, the Debt is too big ever to be compounded ; and those that have no Propriety in a Country, that have not so much as one Acre of the Soil, can never expect to be so much as Tything Men of a Hundred.

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Thus stood the Affairs betwixt the English Nation and King James, and such is the Cause betwixt us and his Heirs, whether legitimate or not; we are the Lords of the Soil, as being Proprietors of this Country, and consequently the Supreme Power is lodged in our Hands, ours is the Country, the Franchises of it are ours, the Laws of it are our Laws, and we can give the Executive Power of those Laws to whom we please.

I come in the next place, Sir, to consider the pretended Prince of Wales's being proclaimed in France King of England, Scotland and Ireland: whether it was done by the immediate Order of the French King, or by the late King James's Servants, signifies very little to the Case in hand, it was done either by his Command, or by his permissive Authority, and either way it was an Affront offered, and a publick Violation of the Rights of Englishmen, nay a downright Declaration of War.

For hereby the French King assumes to himself a Privilege of making Kings for England, as he has done for Spain, contrary to the Constitution of our Country, and our Acts of Settlement otherwise providing. If we allow him to be our King-maker, he'll in a short time be our Lawgiver too, and send us over some Patterns of Wooden Shoes, that we may be in the Livery of his own Vassals. Now this is so high an Affront offered the English Nation, that we can never put it up, but must resent to the highest degree. I will not assume the liberty to direct the Estates of the Kingdom, or to interfere with the Councils of the House of Commons, the People they represent as well as themselves being so nearly concerned; but as I am an English-man, interested in the good of my Country, as I am one that have contended so far for Liberty and Property, that I have nothing to leave to my Children but that Freedom which

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my Forefathers left me; I say as such I would humbly beg leave to affirm, that a War against *France* at this juncture is most Reasonable, Just and Necessary, as the only means to prevent the Growth of the Exorbitant Power of *France*, as the most proper method to do our injur'd Nation Justice upon the account of so many Affronts offered to the good People of *England*; which I would beg leave to enforce by some Reasons drawn from our present Circumstances at home, and the Posture of the Affairs of *Europe* abroad.

At home the Worth of our Noble Constitution is much lessened, if foreign Powers shall intermeddle so far with our Affairs, as to appoint us Governours contrary to our own Wills, and the express Laws of our Realm: Our Reputation is much lessened if we suffer such Powers to entertain a Party of our own Natives plotting against our Country, and inventing Methods to undermine the Foundation of our Government: This was what *France* durst not do when *Oliver Cromwell* was Protector of these Realms; the *French* King was then forc'd to send packing that very Person he has so long entertain'd to the disadvantage as well as dishonour of our Nation; and 'tis a hard case that a usurped Power should do what the Legal Estates of the Kingdom, in good Understanding and Agreement one with the other, cannot effect.

The Affairs of *France* were never more embarras'd in the Reign of *Lewis the XIVth* than at this juncture, by which means in a speedy War abroad we may keep it out of our own Bowels at home. The Circumstances of *France* are such, that it cannot give a speedy Assistance to the new pretended King they have made for us; we are in no danger of an Invasion; and if our Fleets do but the Service they ought to do, we at Sea and the Emperor, &c. on Shore, will

in all probability in a short time bring the aspiring Monarch of *France* to Reason.

I am the least inclin'd to War of any Man living, knowing full well the Miseries thereof, and the vast Expence it brings upon a Nation; and I cannot but admire the wise foresight of our present Parliament in not entring into a War the last Sessions, whereby they have sav'd us at least a Million of Mony, and what has since happened has given a juster Reason for a Declaration of War; for now every Commoner in *England* is actually affronted, our Parliament as injur'd in its Reputation when Foreign Powers pretend to vacate their Laws, and even the Right of our King to his Crown is call'd in question.

I do not in the least dispute who has the Right of making War in *England*, that Right amongst other Powers is vested in the King by the People; yet if we consider the Tenure by which the King holds his Crown, we may assure our selves that he cannot declare War in prejudice of the People: Wars are not to be declared upon trivial Occasions. If two Kings fall out because the one wears a larger Feather in his Cap than the other, must the People of both Kingdoms in this Quarrel jumble their Heads together till they beat out one anothers Brains? No, this is none of the Peoples Quarrel, they are not herein injured; for a People are bound to maintain that Right they gave their King to the Throne, and no more.

We had a late Instance of the Treaty of Partition, in which his Majesty was engag'd through the evil Advice of some ill designing Men against their Country; but the said Treaty being unjust and dishonorable in it self, it was condemned as such by both Houses in Parliament assembled; and tho those Persons who were concerned in the advising of that Treaty would have had the *English* Nation declared War

War upon the breach of the same, yet the Estates of the Kingdom knew better, and would not engage in a War founded upon so ill a Treaty.

But the declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales* King of *England* in *France*, and the harbouring of him and a gang of Men plotting against our Constitution, is an Affront offered against the People of this Realm. The Rights of the People are far more valuable than the Prerogatives of the Crown, which are only *durante Vitâ*; but the Rights of the People are such as will remain as long as *Englishmen* have any ground to stand upon; and there is no War so just as what is begun in defence of the Peoples Rights, and in such a War the People are obliged to spend Stock and Block, their Rights being more valuable than their Paternal Estates.

Altho the Office of a King be *durante Vitâ*, yet the business of a good King ought to be employ'd in establishing the Liberties of the People upon a sure Foundation, that they and his Successors after his Death may not be embroil'd, and in this case his Majesty is equally concern'd with his People; there can be no Affront offer'd the People, but which the King ought to resent; and this Affront of the *French* King's, as it questions the People of *England*'s right of chusing their own Kings, so it questions his Majesty's Title to the Throne, as coming to it by the Choice of the People.

And if both King and People do not concur in a speedy War against *France*, I am much mistaken in my Politicks, if we let *France* go on to heap Kingdom upon Kingdom, if we are not mistaken in our true Interest: The *French* King is grown a mighty *Nimrod*, a Land Pirate, that robs People of large Kingdoms; he's a Monopolizer of Kingdoms, and such a Monopoly is more dangerous than

a Monopoly in Trade; for this invades the Rights of every body, and every body's hand ought to be against such an Invader: and it's hoped his Majesty and his People in Parliament assembled will do an injur'd Nation Justice in curbing the exorbitant Power of their common Enemy, and the general Disturber of the Peace and Tranquillity of Europe.

But I must make bold to say, Sir, if the Management of Affairs be not put into better hands than those that manag'd the last War, we had e'en as good talk of something else than Armies and Fleets. For now, Sir, let us seriously consider of our Iniquities, and we shall find a dismal Catalogue of Sins unaccounted for; which tho' it may be the Interest of some Men to keep such Accounts from the just Examination of proper Auditors, yet they must be accounted for where these Men without great Repentance will have little Interest and Favour.

To have such vast Sums of Money raised to carry on a necessary War, and upon the Peace to find the Army and Navy unpaid, and the Nation much in Debt; and to see Men of no Worth and Fortune before the War riding in their Coaches, is a sight as scandalous as it is unjust. It is demonstrable, that if we had had better Men employ'd by Sea and Land in the late War, the French King upon the Peace would have had enough to do to repair the Fortune of his own shatter'd Kingdom, and not have been so vain as to make Kings for England and Spain.

One would have thought, Sir, that in so long a War there would have sprung up a Breed of Land and Sea Officers; so that for one fifty years the English Nation could not have wanted Admirals and Generals to command their Forces; but how many of these have we gain'd for all our Money? and what is the occasion of all this, but employing

employing Men of servile Education, whose natural Temper would not suffer them to attempt brave Enterprizes, and whose illiteral Breeding render'd them incapable of improving Arts and Sciences; had it been otherwise, what Improvements might have been made in so long a War, in all martial Arts, as in storming of Towns, forcing of Trenches, nay in running away, for that's a very good Art in a Soldier now; as also in Gunnery, Fortification, Bombarding, &c. How far might the noble Art of Navigation, so useful to this Nation, have been advanced, if our Sea-Commanders had better understood the Globes and Mathematicks than the Punch-Bowl; and have studied the Stars and the Firmament of God, instead of standing upon the Quarter-deck, blaspheming of him who made all things?

This Management, Sir, look'd as if our Ministers had declar'd War against all the Men of Parts, Honesty and Honour in the Kingdom; and that Learning, Virtue and Piety were useless Accomplishments to Men in Publick Offices.

I had not recriminated thus far, if the English Nation had not suffer'd so much by a late Ministry, which has still a Party in the Kingdom to justify their evil Practices, and may prove our Ruin in a future War.

But, Sir, you'll pardon me, I hope, if I am bold to say, we must now take other Measures, and employ other Hands: We must be in good earnest in the next War; Marching, Countermarching and Intrenching will not do our business; we must not employ Men that are afraid of fighting, lest a Cannon-Bullet should take away their Commissions, and spoil the profitable Trade of War; our Navy must not be Officer'd with such as know nothing of the Sea, we must have Men whose Eyes are more quick-

quick-sighted than Nevil's were to look about the *West India* Seas, and we must not let Pointi a second time escape into Brest.

It will be well for us if we let the evil Managers in a former War stand as Landmarks, by which we may steer and avoid like Difficulties, this is all the Satisfaction I desire of them; let God reward them according to their Works, whose good Providence I shall bless for a late Deliverance, since it seemed not good to his Wisdom it should be sooner. Those Men that are of no Party are the fittest to be employ'd at this juncture: for Party-men do not consider so much how far publick Occurrences may affect the Good and Welfare of the Nation, as how they may affect their Cause, which is quite different from the Nation's Cause: This will appear if we do but reflect upon the great strugglings that have been by contending Parties to get the Ministry of Affairs into their hands, without regard to the common Safety of the Nation. I must needs say of the late Ministry in respect of Offices, they were no Party-men, but preferr'd the highest Bidder, let him be Whig or Tory; and so the Managers of Publick Affairs fell into the hands of Men, who having bought their Places, must sell their Country to reimburse themselves. I should be glad if the new Ministry do take other Measures, and not follow the fatal Example of the other.

If we have a new War, we must act vigorously, and make a speedy Decision of the Controversy by down-right Blows: This is the only way to break the Measures of *France*, whose Warriors have hitherto been entertained with slight Skirmishes, and have rather studied how to avoid than encounter Dangers. How much are the Affairs of *France* at this present time embarrass'd in *Italy*, where killing

killing is in fashion, and a *French* man does not know in the morning but that he may have his Brains beaten out before night? They are at a mere Nonplus, now they encounter the hardy *Germans* who are accustomed to Blood and Slaughter. The greatest Feats the *French* King has done have been effected more by the Powers of his Gold and his Treachery, than by the Force of his Arms; and I think all Advantages ought to be taken of such an Enemy; and 'tis very fair play to give him a Blow without giving him a Reason for it: The publick Faith of Nations is to be kept only with such as keep their solemn Oaths and Covenants inviolable; all Advantages are to be taken against those that invade the Properties of other People by Treachery and Piracy.

I would not, Sir, prescribe Rules to our Parliament; but it is my Opinion, that our part in a new War may be managed by our Fleets without any new Levies of Land-Forces; a Standing-Army will never go down with me; I being very well assured it is directly contrary to our Constitution, and that the Liberties of the People are in danger where-ever a Land-Army is settled: We plainly saw this not long since, when the Peoples free Choice in electing Members was invaded, when Courtiers and others drew them from their Duty to their Country in electing Members, by promises of exempting them from the quartering of Souldiers; for could a wicked Ministry but once get Souldiers enough to quarter upon all the electing Boroughs in *England*, they would be able to dragoon the Electors into what Choice of Members they pleas'd.

But if a Quota of Land-Forces be thought requisite on the part of *England*, I should think it more for our Interest to hire them abroad, and pay them by Funds rais'd at home.

And

And now let our English Jacobites seriously consider the foregoing Discourse, and try whether they are able to retain the Character of Jacobites without losing that of English-men. Yet such is the perverse Humour of those Men that call themselves a Party, that rather than quit their mistaken Notions, and their mischievous Affinity to a Party, they will adhere to them, to the Destruction of their Country: These are the Sampsons of the World, who are willing to expire under the Ruins of the House, provided they can but bury their Enemies the Philistines in the same Grave with themselves.

While these old Feuds, and this Bigotry in Principles continues, the Jacobites will be still in the dark, and never be capable of seeing their true Interest; and yet the design of the French King's making the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, &c. is so visible, that the oldest Woman in England may see it without Spectacles: for my part I would own no one King of England, not so much as King William, nay not the Angel Gabriel, if the French King had a hand in making him so.

For 'tis plain his Design is to grasp all the Kingdoms of the Universe into his own Clutches; the Foundation of this Design of his was laid some years before I was born, for this very purpose was Dunkirk bought of the English, that the Protestants might have no such strong-hold in Flanders to maintain their Religion, and secure the Territories of the States General; for this end the French King procured the demolishing of Tangier, that the Protestants might have no Harbour to secure their Trade and Shipping in the Straits: This was done by the Perfidy of evil Ministers in former Reigns; nor did a late Ministry do the French King a less Kindness, when in ten years War at the expence of so many Millions English Mony they did him so little Mischief.

For

For if we do but reflect on the vast Subsidies rais'd, the hundreds of thousands of Men lost, with the great number of Shipping, as well Ships of War as Merchant-men; and if we consider at the same time that all this while the *French* King got ground, and increas'd in Strength as *England* declin'd: I say, consider these things, and not only we but future Ages will have great cause to curse a late Ministry.

'Twas this Ministry by a Treaty of Partition gave the Kingdom of *Spain* to the *French*; for the giving of him what they did, was in effect the giving him all; at least, that Action put the *Spaniards* under a necessity of taking a *French* Grandson, rather than their Monarchy shou'd be dismembred: And had that Ministry at the Conclusion of the Peace been trusted with a Standing Army, we had 'ere this time marched in Wooden Shoes.

But to conclude, amongst the other Measures the *French* King may use to gain to himself the Kingdoms of *Europe*, suppose he should by some Clandestine Means thrust the pretended Prince of *Wales* out of this World, as his pretended Father sent *Charles* the Second to pass his Accounts before his time, and by this means get an opportunity of marrying his Grandson the Duke of *Berry* to the Princess, the pretended Sister to the Imposture Prince of *Wales*, and so get the Kingdom of *England* as he has got that of *Spain*, by the Title of Consanguinity; then our *Jacobites* may have occasion to think how much their Politicks fail'd them in relying on the Friendship of that Monarch; then the Northern Heresy shall be extirpated with a witness; and those poor deluded Creatures that have been acting against the Interest of their Native Country, except they change their Religion, must expect no other favour, than to be the last involv'd in the general Destruction of all that is dear to us. I don't pretend to prophesy, but things of this nature are very familiar Actions with *Lewis* the XIVth of *France*.

If any *English Jacobite* will but consult his own Reason, he'll easily conclude that *Lewis* was no Friend to *James* otherwise than to make his Ends of him ; nor does he value the *English Jacobites*, nor their little Master neither, one rush more than to serve his own turn, in keeping *England* embroil'd ; which if once it could be so happy as to come to a due Temper, and promote its own true Interest, without regard to any Parties or Factions, might be able to confound all his Designs, to break the Chains and Fetters of *Europe*, to revive the Protestant Interest, and to put the Protestants of *France* and other Countries in the full Possession of their Civil and Religious Liberties. Nay, I'll be bold to say, however Chimerical it may appear to some, that *England* under a wise and honest Management is capable of giving Laws to the World, and consequently of checking the Pride and Ambition of all insolent and usurping Tyrants.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my sense of the present Juncture of Affairs, and I rather address'd my self to your Honour, because you being a Minister of State, and a Member of the House of Commons, are more nearly concerned to consult the true Interest of the Nation.

Your Honour's most humble Servant.



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